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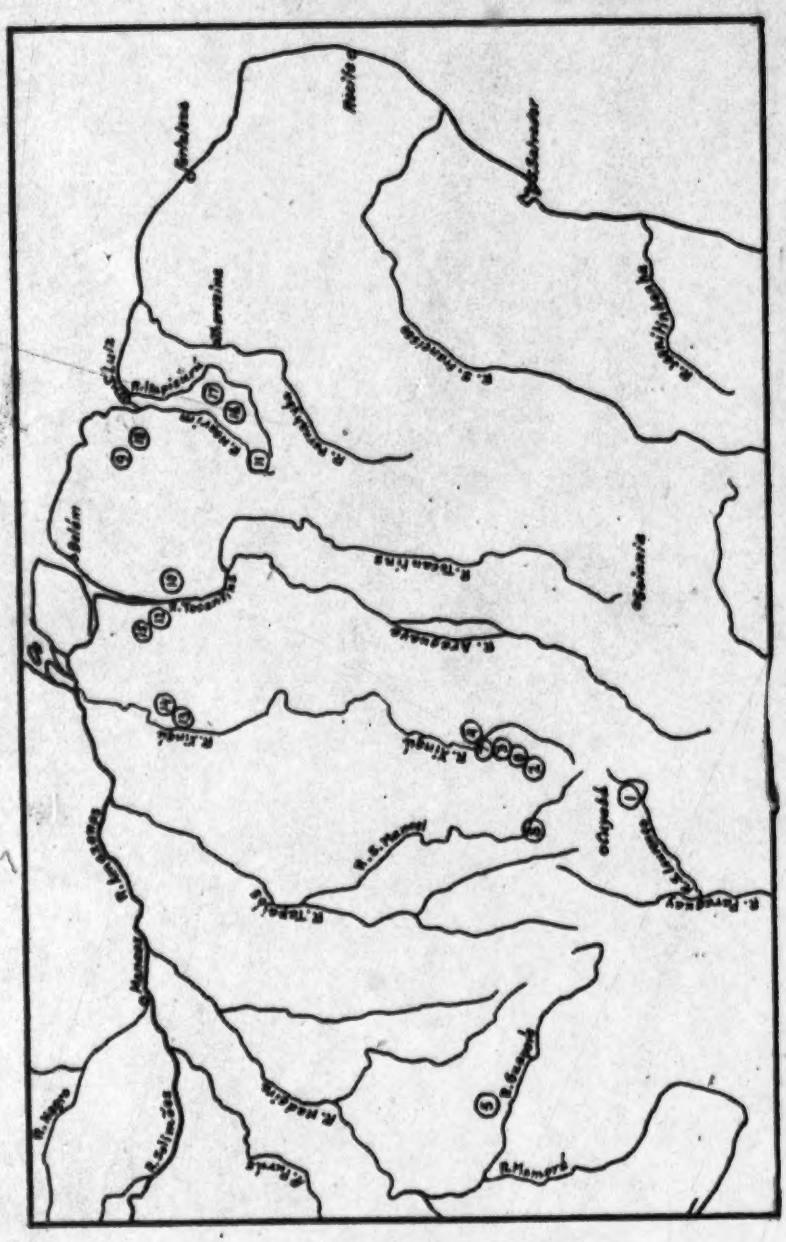

[map 2, a, facing p. 69]

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575 562 the two exogamous moieties; they certainly do not represent them nowadays and never did in the Fish companies of the tepyarkwá festival. The two girls are chosen from a part of the village circumference corresponding to the situation of the society in the plaza; and the Fish Otters have a single girl associate.

The head of a society nominates the girls, who are appointed by the council. The councilors notify the families, which, however, have the right to decline. More particularly, the girl's maternal uncle may refuse his permission, while the prospective (at present sometimes the actual) husband has no say in the matter.

The appointee is always a girl on whom the girdle has not yet been bestowed (p. 119). Such a girdle is not presented to her until the close of her term of office as a mekuičwę'i; formerly marriage occurred subsequently to this ceremony. In general the Falcons, Jaguars, and Mummers, as well as the several Fish companies, still aspire to having virgins for their associates. Not so the Agoutis, Ducks, and hõčwá, who are content with selecting any young women. The Clowns choose two ex-vų'tę', who accordingly are already married.

The girls constantly accompany the membership of their society. Their duties are few, embracing such work as is deemed inappropriate for men, viz., cooking, especially in the earth oven, fetching water, and the like. In addition they comb and paint the men, for which purposes they carry a rod-comb and a little bowl with urucú hanging down their backs from a cord (pl. 20, *a*). As a member of the Agouti society in 1935 I saw a girl dismissed because she had neglected even these few tasks and would altogether absent herself from the organization, which accordingly asked for the appointment of a successor.

575 837 562 Amours *may* develop between the girls and the members, especially during their rovings for days at a time over the steppe. In consequence engagements are broken and couples already living together separate. Mainly to avoid this risk families often refuse to let their girls assume office, so that it tends more and more to fall into the hands of wantons (p. 130). However, it is by no means the essential purpose of the institution to provide mistresses for the membership: in former times the girls departed from their association as virgins, and in general the members still hold them in esteem.

575 526 The festive societies are in part leagued together, in part pitted against one another. The Jaguars and the Agoutis who jointly appear at the closing ceremony of the vų'tę' season are opponents; and when they figure at the Mummers' festival the Mummers side with the Agoutis. In the pepkahą'k festival the Falcons, allied with the pepkahą'k, are opposed to the Ducks, and the teams of log racers during the festival are recruited from these two societies. Similarly, the Clowns side with the pepkahą'k and the Falcons.

575 555 [156] The Clowns differ from the other societies in the mode of entrance, which hinges on a person's inborn capacity for buffoonery so that any one confident in his gifts may join. But since this talent is not especially developed among the Timbira, the number of members is small—about a dozen—and at times diminishes to a point where the society feels compelled to woo recruits, especially if the Clowns seem too few for their duties at tepyarkwá. Then they invite a suitable man from each of the six plaza groups to join their number. At the pepkahą'k festival the Clowns usually succeed in persuading this or that King Vulture who finds the social obligations of that order too onerous to join them in the destruction of a wasp nest the Ducks have put up in front of the seclusion hut of the pepkahą'k. This act automatically expels the member from the King Vultures.

575 The Clowns appear as an organized body only at the pepkahą'k and the tep

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Amusements

526 *Log races.*—Log races form the national sport not only of all the Timbira (cf. p. 141 f.), including the Apinayé, but probably of all Northwestern and Central Gê. None of the other numerous observances that characterize the public life of these tribes has so deeply roused the attention of civilized observers. This is primarily because, next to the girls' dances in the plaza, log racing is the most frequently repeated ceremony; further, it stands out for its dramatic impressiveness. On the other hand, the furious tempo of the procedure—which is usually over before the spectator can scrutinize it—hinders accurate comprehension. Accordingly most of the statements in the literature rest wholly or in part on secondhand information.

The erroneous notion, widespread among Neobrazilian neighbors, that log racing represents a suitor's test, is constantly strengthened by statements admitted into the literature. The Indians themselves contribute their mite to the misunderstanding when harried by leading questions as to the supposed matrimonial trial. I myself was rather astonished to overhear a young Indian telling a newly arrived police officer with cynical nonchalance that only such of his tribesmen might marry as had passed the racing test. When I subsequently demanded an explanation he replied laughingly, "Why, he doesn't understand anything about it anyway!" The lieutenant had given him two milreis, expecting to hear some piquant story about marriage customs. I noted strictly parallel behavior among the Apapocúva-Guaraní when questioned by inquisitive whites about their religion: Without a single exception they then declare that their god is named Tupã (as stated in all Brazilian textbooks) even though they thus designate a rather subordinate thunder demon and call their high god by a totally different name.[m]

Since I have frequently had to refer to the log races because of their close connection with Timbira social structure, I shall restrict my present remarks to a few general statements and a summary account.

A log race is run by two competing teams, hence every race is executed with two logs, a fact ignored by all previous visitors to the Timbira and sufficient to demonstrate the superficiality of their observations. The races may occur during any season of the year, though the constitution of the teams varies. During the vụ'tẹ́ period the races are most frequent and most important, so that in exceptional cases there may be up to three races a day. The participants range from about fifteen to fifty-five years of age—irrespective of the unofficial races by uninitiated boys. The purely sportive character of the performance further appears from the frequent races that follow the major log races—either relay races around the boulevard by the same teams; or races of paired competitors transversely across the plaza from one vụ'tẹ́'s house to the other.

The tracks are of two types: (a) Most commonly the racers run from the place of manufacture of the logs, using as much as possible the streets that radiate from the village toward the four points of the compass. These tracks vary greatly in length, from a little over one kilometer to twelve and a half kilometers, the most usual extent being three kilometers. (See pl. 1, *c*.) (b) In other cases the boulevard constitutes the course; in Ponto it was nearly one kilometer in length, and the racers might run around it as many as five times.

However, races of the latter type are usually held only to supplement a log race from outside into the village. In no case do the competitors start around the boulevard with already used logs, subsequently fetching new logs from without.

[m] Nimuendajú, Religion der A-Guaraní, 322 f.

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526 322 824 The ordinary logs are called krowa, burity palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*), being formed from a cylindrical section of one of these trees. About 1 m. long and 40-50 cm. in thickness, these logs may be estimated to weigh 100 kg., but are actually somewhat lighter. To afford a better grip the makers set off a shallow hollow from the margins of the terminal planes. (See pl. 29, *b*.) Among the Krĩkatí I saw gigantic logs, but they had been bilaterally hollowed out, leaving a transverse partition 5 cm. in thickness. Invariably a man of mature years tests the completed logs at the site of manufacture, ordering those he judges too heavy to be lopped off and over-light ones to be deposited in the water.

Logs made out of the heartwood of other trees are called pąra. The pą'rakahę'k made at the beginning of the pepyé initiation—with grips projecting from the terminal planes in the direction of the longitudinal axis—represent a special variety. I observed similar specimens among the Kre'pų'mkateye. Distinct from these are the pąrakačą're used on the first and second days of the closing ceremony of the ketúaye festival. Their weight is negligible; on the other hand, the hąmkrán typical of the opening of the vų'tę' season are the heaviest I have ever seen.

526 292 For the more solemn log races the Rąmkõ'kamekra adorn themselves with girdle pendants far less impressive than those of the Apinayé; they likewise put on forehead bands, neck bands, sashes, and burity-fiber girdles. The pendants and the girdles have long posterior tail-like appendages. At a major race at the close of the ketúaye the participants had tied together their long occipital hair with a grass fan of the type referred to on page 48 (see pl. 20, *b*).

526 302 534 [271] The Rąmkõ'kamekra paint themselves black for a log race. During it they use as instruments only trumpets and their little calabash ocarinas. Like the Apinayé they wrap their wrists with plaited cotton cords terminating in tassels (pl. 11, *c*, *d*); this is to afford protection from chafing against the edge of the log. It is the young girls' duty at major races to provide themselves with gourd bottles filled with water and, keeping pace with the runners, to slake their thirst.

526 The teams alternate in issuing a challenge. Either at an evening or a morning session a councilor once and for all delegated for this duty loudly calls the team whose turn has come, "aikõ'! aikõ'! ape kų'ikateye (or whatever may be the team in question) kanąm meká iykre kačúa to ike'ké!" Those summoned reply in chorus, "hã'o!"

At a suitable distance from the village, in a *galeria* forest with burity palms, the challengers prepare the two logs and, when done, drag them to one of the race tracks if feasible, but as a rule only as far as one of the bypaths that ultimately lead to the track. A space about 6 m. square is cleared, and there the logs are laid down at a distance of about 1½ m. from each other, resting on leaves so as not to be soiled. They are always put down with the axis in the direction of the course. The above-mentioned hąmkrán are painted red by two erstwhile girl associates of the pepyé. (See pl. 29, *a*.)

526 554 The ceremony of the čų'kate with the hąmkrán logs resting on the ground has been described. The office of these four čų'kate is attached to the names Vakái, Pąrkré, Pądnhí and Mĩkrõ', with which it is passed on by inheritance. Their badge consists of a girdle plaited of cotton; it is of the width of two fingers. Hanging from it is a pendant (čų) of rattling objects, properly tapir hoofs; but since nowadays the tapir is extinct within the tribal domain, the tips of little bottle gourds, deer hoofs, and ostrich beaks serve as substitutes. From this girdle the čų'kate derive their name, and formerly all four of them wore these emblems in their official capacity; but at present only one of them owns one.

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On the eve of the major races of the vų'tę' period the teams assemble in their vų'tę' girls' houses, whence they march out simultaneously toward the plaza, shouting and often halting; at their goal they sit down facing each other in two parallel rows. One of the čų'kate seats himself in front of the double line, holding his rolled-up girdle in his hand, and slowly begins beating time on the ground with it, the rest accompanying him with two songs in an undertone.

Sometimes both teams assemble simultaneously by the completed logs, each assuming its appropriate side. Usually, however, the challengers are the first to arrive, their opponents purposely deferring their appearance for an appreciable time and slowly approaching amid trumpet blasts. As soon as the newcomers are visible the challengers form a line behind the logs and intone a song while slowly clapping their hands. When the marchers have got to within forty or fifty meters the singers raise their hands aloft and stamp their feet until the opponents have reached the logs. Forthwith four men from each team lift their own log to the first racer's shoulder, and he immediately dashes off in the direction of the village, followed and surrounded by a tumultuous troop of his fellows. The first choice is always one of the best runners, in order to have an encouraging start. When the two log bearers are running side by side, each has for his lane that side of the track on which his team had its log lying at the start of the race.

At once a mad chase starts in. Yelling and inciting the racers to greater efforts, blowing trumpets and ocarinas, the Indians with their waving grass ornaments bound deerlike to the right and left of the log-bearers' path, leaping over tufts of grass and low steppe bushes. After a distance of about a hundred and fifty meters, a fellow member runs up to the log bearer, who without stopping in his course dexterously twists his body around so as to transfer his load to his mate's shoulder, and the race continues without the least interruption. Thus it goes on madly down the slopes of the hills in the torrid sunshine of the shadeless steppe, across brooks and uphill again, in the burning, loose sand that unresistingly yields to the feet. Soon the old folks and women carrying children are left behind, unless they have previously taken up a place ahead in order to see the racers dashing past somewhere farther on. Again and again a new substitute rushes up to relieve a racer as soon as his pace threatens to slacken. The spectators witness desperate efforts by the class-leaders and those who pique themselves on their reputation as log bearers. Nevertheless after a few kilometers the group of panting runners bathed in perspiration has diminished perceptibly. The cries urging one another on grow hoarse and forced, with an indescribably tortured ring. Nimble, light-footed maidens serve a draught of water to the racers from a gourd bottle as they run by, but no one is allowed to throw off the log for a stop and rest, no matter how far ahead his team may be. At last the village appears on yonder height. With a last supreme exertion the runners force themselves up the sandy, worn incline. At this stage not a man is able to carry his load farther than thirty meters, so that there is a constant change of log bearers. But finally the houses of the boulevard are reached, and this street is followed to the door of the vų'tę' girl's house. Or, if the teams are composed of the plaza moieties, they take the nearest radial path to the plaza. At last the log is dropped with a thud.

Breathless the rear guard of the winning team puts in its appearance; the champion of the losing side arrives and hurls his log alongside of its predecessor. Pitiably panting and with trembling limbs the winner seats himself on his log, while an old man assuming an expert's manner kneads and strokes the racer's legs and body. But the rest lasts only a moment. Then the members of one team trot to the maternal

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526 home of their deceased best runner, who died on a journey a year ago; there they indulge in a brief lament. Then—lest anyone imagine they were exhausted by their bit of exercise—they once more take up their logs and run around the boulevard with them, or run an ordinary race by twos, or a relay race. Not until then do they take a bath.

535 After every major race a solo dance is indicated. Properly it devolves on one of the four čų'kate, but very often some other man who happens to feel like it assumes the rattle girdle and with it their role. In addition he has for insignia his club and a special dance staff or at least an arrow which he grasps with both hands and holds aloft in horizontal position. Usually he begins in the plaza, then trots on the radial path to a house, in front of which he spends several seconds singing and dancing, whereupon he returns to the plaza by the same path, again dances there, uses the next radial path, and continues thus till he has danced before each and every one of the thirty houses and is then as a rule completely exhausted. However, it often happens that the performer merely dances from house to house along the boulevard without each time returning to the plaza. The accompanying solo songs illustrate the sharp distinction the Ramkõ'kamekra draw between piano and forte. Snethlage mentions a solo dancer who alternately balanced his dance staff on his finger tips, his nose, or chin.[28] This is certainly not a fixed custom; I have never witnessed it.

[533]

526 147 Notwithstanding the well-nigh superhuman exertions made I have not observed any detriment to the health of the log bearers; nor does the ensuing bath prove insalutary. On the other hand, in any race of considerable extent there are many minor foot injuries due to tree stumps and thorns.

526 201 156 183 And now we come to the feature that remains incomprehensible to the Neobrazilian and leads to his constantly ascribing ulterior motives to this Indian game: The victor and the others who have desperately exerted themselves to the bitter end receive not a word of praise, nor are the losers and outstripped runners subject to the least censure; there are neither triumphant nor disgruntled faces. The sport is an end in itself, not the means to satisfy personal or group vanity. Not a trace of jealousy or animosity is to be detected between the teams. Each participant has done his best because he likes to do so in a log race. Who turns out to be the victor or loser makes as little difference as who has eaten most at a banquet. Only the lazybones who plays truant when a race is on becomes the target of blame and mockery. The term čukaká (p. 119) is considered very derogatory, especially when applied by a woman to a man.

[578]

526 224 The major log races held at the close of the annual festivals, above all at pepyé, invariably arouse the interest of the entire village. The ordinary ones create much less excitement. When men in a group return from some big hunting trip or other labor, they generally enter the village by way of a log race. If the participants are few in number, they simply chop off two tree limbs corresponding to their strength. Though such races proceed quietly and unobtrusively, the entrance into the village nevertheless always lures a number of interested spectators to the doors of their houses.

526 At one of the great races it is difficult to supervise individual achievements. To be sure, a competent class-leader will try to regulate the procedure, but it may well happen that a good runner overexerts himself at the very start or at a particularly unfavorable stage of the course so as to fall far behind, while an inferior racer manages to save his strength for the finish. With the general enthusiasm and agitation, artificially heightened by the noise, there is little scope for cold, calculating

[28] Snethlage, Nordostbras., 179.

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526 organization of teamwork. In contrast to the Apinayé, these people make not the slightest effort to improve inferior achievements in log racing.[55]

554 The champion racers (mehitų'i) are esteemed and enjoy a certain prestige, but no special prerogatives or insignia.

The following is the constitution of the opposing sides:

526 1. During the ceremonial season it is in general the two western age classes that
616 are pitted against the eastern pair. This arrangement still holds if a ketúaye or pepyé festival is held that year.

561 2. The pąrakahą'k race at the beginning of the pepyé seclusion is exceptional in
575 that the western plaza groups compete with the eastern ones. For further exception, see below under 7.

3. During the entire course of a pepkahą'k celebration the Duck society races against the Falcons. At the close of this festival the Clowns, the King Vultures, and the pepkahą'k themselves side with the Falcons.

4. During a tepyarkwá the eastern run against the western plaza groups; or, in the simpler form of the festival, the eastern and western age classes oppose each other.

5. During the Mummers' festival the Mummers and the Agoutis race against the Jaguars.

6. The Agoutis, aided by the Clowns, also oppose the Jaguars at the termination celebration of every ceremonial season.

7. During the meipimrą'k season the ką' are pitted against the atų'k.

526 In former times there also seems to have been competition between members of
628 different tribes; and since the performers would clandestinely bring along weapons and hide them somewhere en route—a thing that never happened in intratribal contests—dangerous brawls resulted. I heard of instances apparently dating back some forty to fifty years. The Apąnyekra, then far more numerous than now, would come to visit the Rąmkõ'kamekra, manufacturing logs at a suitable distance from the village and then issuing their challenge. Since there was always some bad blood between these tribes, the race would terminate in sanguinary fighting.

526 On certain occasions the bigger girls and young women likewise race with logs;
881 but while the annual number of men's races far exceeds a hundred, I know of only the following four occasions that involve a feminine race as part of the programme:

562 1 and 2. When at the close of each phase of initiation a tamed wild pig is killed and prepared for eating, a log race is arranged. The simultaneously racing men are grouped according to eastern and western age classes, to which units there is no feminine parallel. Accordingly the matrilineal kinswomen of members of the eastern age classes compete with those of the western classes.

3. According to a corresponding principle the several feminine log-race teams at the tepyarkwá festival are recruited from matrilineal kinswomen of the eastern and western plaza moieties.

4. At the opening of the meipimrą'k season there is a log race for girls and women. Since the dual division of this period embraces both sexes, the organization into teams automatically follows for both.

526 Although the girls and women are always granted a considerable handicap in
562 competition with the youths and men, they are invariably soon overtaken. The women's logs are manufactured by the men and often made too heavy. Four times I witnessed the desperate, but vain efforts by the women to carry their logs into the village unaided; they were especially baffled by the downtrodden sand of the

[55] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 74.

terminal incline. At the closing ketúaye ceremony the biggest of the graduating novices lent them a hand. In the other cases several of the men, after delivering their own logs, turned back to help the women. In 1933 or thereabouts a certain Tarpót, then seventeen years of age and wedded to the champion racer of the recently initiated age class, ranked as the best of the female runners. Women who have borne children no longer actively participate in the log races.

Only the opening race of the meipimrą'k season takes place in the fashion mentioned above, with large but bilaterally hollowed burity logs. Otherwise the racers of this period use gradually enlarged logs, as noted.

In addition to the races hitherto described, which belong in the category of athletic sports, there are others of symbolic character, executed like those of the opening of the meipimrą'k period with logs too light for a test of athletic prowess. Accordingly, they are rather simple relay races with symbolical miniature logs.

This holds in even greater measure of the pąrare (racing logs of the souls of the dead), which weigh only about 245 gr. apiece and are used by the plaza moieties at the close of each initiation phase.

Small pąrare, only 2-5 cm. long, serve as ornaments, being suspended in pairs or bundles from necklaces and sashes (pl. 35, *d*). Nowadays, at least, the Indians attach no interpretation to such decoration. Several times I have seen noteworthy pąrare resembling the little girls' dolls in being characterized as male or female by wax breasts, girdles and hip cords.

Given the predilection of the Timbira for these races, old logs are seen lying bout in great numbers everywhere in their villages. Anyone may appropriate these and use them at his pleasure. One sees them inside and in front of the houses, as a rule unsplit, rarely bisected, serving as settees along the walls. People like to use them as a barrier to the freely roaming domestic pigs, either by laying one transversely before the threshold or putting them square-fashion round young fruit trees and other plants to be protected near the houses. Sometimes the graves to the rear of the houses and even in the cemetery are fenced in this manner. The fibrous, sappy palm wood rapidly dries out, whereupon the old logs are chopped up for fuel.

As stated, log races seem to be the national sport of all Timbira tribes. I have witnessed them among the Rąmkō'kamekra, the Apinayé, and the Krahō'; and seen logs of the type in Apą'nyekra, Krīkatí, Pųkóbye, and Kre'pų'mkateye villages. Among the Timbira of Araparytíua (middle Gurupy) I learned that the sport was still in vogue in 1913. In 1931 a punitive expedition to the wild Gaviões discovered two wide, straight roads, probably race tracks, and a rattle girdle with tapir hoofs such as is worn by the Canella čų'kate (p. 139). According to the handful of Čą'kamekra survivors, log racing formerly played the same role as among the Rąmkō'kamekra. Of the now likewise extinct "Poracramacrans" (Põrekamekra) Pohl reports a log dance, which unfortunately he did not himself witness, for which a special circle had been formed in the plaza:

Bey diesem Tanze bedienen sie sich bey drittehalb Ellen langer, anderthalb Schuhe im Durchmesser haltender, 4–6 Arroben schwerer Klötze [which Pohl obviously saw] welche auf den Schultern getragen und von den Tänzern einander zugeworfen werden.[20]

To hurl and catch logs weighing 87 kg. while dancing is presumably not quite so simple as Pohl seems to have been made to believe.

The only Timbira groups for whom I have discovered no evidence of log races are the inconsiderable remnants of the Krẽyé of Cajuapára and of the Kukóekamekra and Krẽyé of Bacabal, whom I have never visited in their villages. However, the

[20] Pohl, 2:205.

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probability is that they, too, practiced this sport so long as an adequate number of men was available, which is no longer the case.

G 526 535 114

The nearest linguistic and cultural relatives of the Timbira, especially of the Apinayé, are the Northern Kayapó. According to Kissenberth[223] the "Tanz mit dem schweren Holzklotz auf der Schulter" forms the acme of their akre festival, which he connects with a lunar cult but has not yet described in print. Thus he, like Pohl, mentions a log *dance*.

The Southern Kayapó, clearly distinct from the Northern Kayapó (p. 6), had dwindled down to some 40 people in 1907 and are probably quite extinct today. According to Silva e Souza,[224] in 1812

> ...nas visinhanças da Paschoa [beginning of the dry season] pintam-se si com tinta de genipapo botinas, peitos de armas, e fazem então com grande vozeria as suas festas e jogos, sendo o mais celebre o que chamam touro, em que se disputem uns aos outros as forças ne carreira, tomando uns do hombro de outros um grande tronco que empregam neste ministerio.
>
> (...about Easter they paint their boots and armor with genipa and then amid great shouting they celebrate their festivals and games. Of these, that known as touro [bull; error for tóro, log] is the most famous; in it they test their powers in running, taking from one another's shoulders a large tree trunk used at this performance.)

In other words, they had a genuine sportive log race differing from the Timbira form only in the alleged use of a single log.

But Pohl's report on the same tribe is quite different: The log (a single one!) was 1½ yards in length and 12 inches thick, that is, much thinner than the Timbira equivalent, and weighed a hundredweight. At night in the dance some man would leap about in a circle with it and throw it toward some other man. Pohl's further remarks about the use of the log during the festival of Gebrar Cabessa (= quebra cabeça, head-breaking) held "zur Fastenzeit" and during mourning are obscure and surely rest even less than the above description of the log dance on his own observations.[225]

Thus Pohl is the first to credit the Timbira and Kayapó with a log dance, not a log race. Since he did not observe it in either tribe, I am unable to decide whether the "dance" concept is due to erroneous information given him or to a misunderstanding on his part. This would not apply to Kissenberth, who probably witnessed the phenomenon; but how easily an investigator may be tempted to drop into his predecessors' phraseology, precisely in this matter, is illustrated by Snethlage, who speaks of a Rąmkō′kamekra log dance, which his own account unmistakably marks as a true race.[226] Failing, then, more precise reports by trustworthy eyewitnesses, the log "dance" seems dubious, though gaining in probability in view of the maríddo ceremony of the Eastern Bororó.[227]

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The Šerénte have a log race. Another presumably Gê people practicing this sport is the Kamakan tribe in southern Bahia between the Contas and Pardo rivers.[228] Their log, though made from another kind of wood, resembled the Timbira type in size and weight and, like the pą′rakahą′k, was provided with grips. The Kamakan, too, constructed straight, tidy race courses, though only a quarter-mile long, and ran from the end of the lane to the village. Wied-Neuwied and Douville both mention a single log, which according to Wied-Neuwied the other performers tried to get away from the bearer during the chase. Douville makes the latter try to remain

[223] Araguaya-Reise, 55.
[224] Memoria, 494.
[225] Pohl, 1:400.
[226] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 182.
[227] Lévi-Strauss, Contributions, 78f., note 1.
[228] Wied-Neuwied, 2:222; Spix and Martius, 2:695; Douville, Voyage, 275.

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526 191 114

and have been extinct since the eighteenth century. Contrary to Ehrenreich, Schuller[1] proved that they were not Gê; and I doubt likewise that they belonged to the Karirí stock.

In shifting their encampment these people raced from the old site to the new one. The two logs were laid on the ground a stone's throw from the chief's hut and at a distance of two paces from each other. The racers stepped up in two teams (*in duas turmas divisus*) and each team selected its strongest member to have the log placed on his neck, whereupon he dashed off with it, relieved by his fellows in the course of the race. The victors called the vanquished names and hissed at them. A crude sketch, hardly in harmony with the text, accompanied it.

In 1647 Roulox Baro started on his journey to the Otshukayana, whom he apparently met beyond the sources of the Potengy, and marched toward the coast with them. During his nearly three months' companionship he repeatedly witnessed log races: "*On courut l'arbre*" is a frequently recurring entry in his diary. A several weeks' racing season formed the prelude to a great festival, at which boys had their ears pierced, and marriageable youths their lower lips and cheeks. I am not quite clear whether the terminal ceremony actually involved a collective wedding of these young men. At all events, this eyewitness, too, does not represent the log race as a trial of marriageability. The chief Jandhuy, over a hundred years old, also took part. The two logs were extraordinarily long—22 ft.—and consisted of barked, smoothed tree trunks. Baro also reports a race from an old to a new camp site. The race opening the festive period assumed a remarkable form. Prior to the event the Indians had caught numerous rats (*Cavia porea?*) for the purpose, and these were liberated to be pursued and killed by the log runners—by what means is not stated. Snethlage supposes that the logs were hurled at them, but throwing 6-m. long trunks after fleeing rats is not a likely procedure. Perhaps they were trampled to death.[2]

Barlaeus, whose statements do not rest on personal observations, strikes me as an untrustworthy source on many points relating to Indians. For instance, he tells how the Otshukayana go to their huts "sambt Weib, Kind, Knechten, Karrn und Wagen, daruf sie ihr Geräth führen." Plötz and Métraux interpret one passage to mean that the victorious log racers became war leaders; but "victorem cohortes sequuntur" may possibly mean no more than that the teams ran behind the champion. The German edition states: "Wer nun den andern zuvorthut, dem folgen alle beyde Hauffen, und begeben sich also miteinander auf den Weg."[3]

In any case, there can be no doubt that the Otshukayana log races, like those of the Timbira and Serénte, represented a competitive sport between two teams.

Though the three oldest sources on the Otshukayana say nothing about any connection between log races and matrimony, Carrilho de Andrade some seventy years later discovered something of the sort. He writes of the Yandois, that is, Otshukayana, and the Pyacús, that is, Payacú, presumably as of 1699 or 1700. The Payacú, now extinct, spoke an unidentified language and lived in the present states of Rio Grande do Norte and Ceará, on the Rio Apody and west thereof as far as the Rio Choró. Perhaps they are identical with the Pajoke or the tribe whose chief during the Dutch period was Pajuku. Carrilho reports:

Eyxercitão se desde mininos Em destrezas, Eforsaas, com o lutar; correr, saltar, Eleuantando grandes pezos aos onbros, correm tres Ecoatro llegoes sem descansar, Edesta sorte ganhão premios que Entre Elles, os mayores, uem á ser mossas fermozas por molheres.

[1] Ehrenreich, Ueber einige Bildnisse, chap. 4. Schuller, Affinität der Tapuya-Indianer.
[2] Baro, Relation de voyage, 220, 224. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 183.
[3] Barlaeus, Brasilianische Geschichte, 95, 695. *Idem.*, Rerum, 253. Plötz and Métraux, 279.

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(They exercise themselves from boyhood on in agility and strength by wrestling, running, and leaping; and lifting heavy loads to their shoulders they run three or four miles without a rest, thereby winning prizes, the highest consisting of beautiful young girls for wives.)[284]

Noteworthy is the reference to log races among the inhabitants of the province of Itatin by Techo, missionary in Paraguay from 1649–1680:

Probaban su fuerza llevando en hombros un grueso madero, y el que antes llegaba á la meta recebía honores o premios; lo mismo cuenta Lipsio de los chilenos.[285]

This author says of these Indians that they "en nada se diferenciaban de los [Guaraní] del Paraná y Uruguay por lo que se refiere á idioma y costumbres." But by "provincia de Itatin" he understood the entire region between the Paraná and the Paraguay rivers, northward to the Rio Butute (=Botetehu=Miranda), and the population of this area could not at the time have comprised solely Guaraní. As late as 1723 the Southern Kayapó extended to the Rio Nhanduhy.[286] Either Techo has this tribe in mind, or the Guaraní of Itatin had borrowed log racing from these people, their northeastern neighbors. The reference to Lipsio and the Chileans is obscure. So far as I know, nothing comparable to log racing has been reported from them.

Finally, I heard among the linguistically isolated Fulnió (Carnijó) of Aguas Bellas, state of Pernambuco, an unclear tradition of an anciently practiced log race as a matrimonial test, the suitor running with one log under each arm.

Among the Indians of Brejo dos Padres, near Jatobá, in southern Pernambuco, Estevão de Oliveira heard a significant origin myth, which he has orally communicated to me. According to this tradition, the natives practiced log racing in order to be able, if necessary, to drag along a wife when fleeing, the logs having been of comparable weight. Nothing further could be extracted from the Indians, who comprise four tribes united at the above-mentioned mission. One tribe, the Pancararú, had previously lived at Santo Antonio da Gloria, on the right bank of the São Francisco, and in the eighteenth century somewhat farther upstream on the islands of that river. The others were the Geripancó, Macarú and Quaçá.[287] The sparse word list still obtainable indicated elements of at least three distinct languages: (1) an entirely isolated tongue; (2) the likewise isolated speech of the Fulnió; (3) a Tupí dialect resembling Guaraní. It was not possible to ascertain which of the above-mentioned tribes corresponded to which languages. Culturally there was no more intimation of Gê affinity than there was linguistically.

As stated, I have several times observed miniature logs (pararе) here, which were characterized as to sex by their decoration and wax breasts. This suggests the possibility that the logs may here, too, have originally represented human beings whom it was a moral obligation to bring into safety when pursued or attacked by the enemy. Pohl[288] says that when a Põrekamekra fell or was wounded in battle his comrades made every effort to carry him along, for it was reckoned most disgraceful to be captured by the enemy dead or alive.

A glance at map 3 shows that log racing is characteristic of the Gê and was only rarely diffused to neighboring aliens.

Other races.—The speed of running Timbira has always aroused the admiration of observers. It is an ascertained fact that they have often overtaken mounted men. The two murderers of chief Major Tito fled on horseback, but were pursued and

[284] Carrilho de Andrade, Memoria, 136.
[285] Techo, Historia, 4:214.
[286] Pires de Campos, Breve noticia, 437.
[287] Estevao de Oliveira, O ossoario da "Gruta do Padre."
[288] Pohl, Reise, 2:209.

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overtaken by the Krahô', who killed one of them from ambush, while the other fled. One can hardly assume that he spared his horse, but the Krahô' once more caught up and killed him also.

TABLE

DISTRIBUTION OF LOG RACING

Tribe	Source	Ascertained (A) or observed (O)	Date	Character
1. Timbira of Araparytina..	Nimuendajú	A	1913	Competitive sport
2. Kre' pų'mkateye.....	Snethlage	A	1924	Matrimonial trial
	Nimuendajú	A	1929	Competitive sport
3. Pųkôbye	Nimuendajú	A	1929	Competitive sport
4. Krîkati	Nimuendajú	A	1928	Competitive sport
5. W. Gaviões	.....	A	1931	?
6. Krahô'	Snethlage	A	1925	Matrimonial trial
	Nimuendajú	O	1930	Competitive sport
7. Pôrekamekra	Pohl	A	1819	"Log dance"
8. Apų'nyekra	Nimuendajú	A	1929	Sport
	Pompeu Sobrinho	A	1929	Matrimonial trial
9. Rąmkô'kamekra	Snethlage	O	1924	Matrimonial trial
	Fróes Abreu	A	1928	Trial of strength
	Pompeu Sobrinho	A	1929	Matrimonial trial
	Nimuendajú	O	1929–36	Sport
10. Cų'kamekra	Nimuendajú	A	1929	Sport
11. Apinayé.....	Snethlage	O	1926	Matrimonial trial
	Estevão de Oliveira	A	1926	Trial of strength
	Nimuendajú	O	1928–37	Sport
12. N. Kayapó	Kissenberth	O ?	1909	"Log dance"
13. S. Kayapó	Silva e Souza	A ?	1812	Trial of strength
	Pohl	A ?	1819	"Log dance" at feast of dead
14. Serénte and Savánte.....	Spix and Martius	A	1820	Matrimonial trial
	Tuggia	O	1852	Sport
	Vianna	A	1902 ?	Matrimonial trial
	Nimuendajú	O	1930, 1937	Sport
15. Kamakan	Wied-Neuwied	A ?	1817	Trial of strength
	Spix and Martius	A	1820	Suitors' competitive trial
	Martius	A	1820	"Gymnastics"
	Douville	O ?	1833	Matrimonial trial
16. Barbados.....	Morses	O ?	1727 ?	Sport
17. Otshukayana.....	Rabbi (in Piscnis and Maregravi)	O	1633 ?	Sport
	Baro	O	1647	Sport
	Barlaeus	A	1647	Sport
	Carrilho de Andrade	A ?	1699	Sport with women as prize
18. Pyacu (Payaeá)	Carrilho de Andrade	A ?	1699	Sport with women as prize
19. Prov. Itatin	Techo	A	1680	Trial of strength
20. Fulnió	Nimuendajú	A	1934	Matrimonial trial
21. Brejo dos Padres Indians.	Estevão de Oliveira	A	1937	Strength exercise

The Rąmkô'kamekra race in pairs (kume'kukré; or, kąkaipúa = straight across the plaza) and in relays (aipenrį').

The former variety is confined to males. Starting in front of the vų'tę' house of the age-class moiety challenged, they run across the plaza to the challengers' vų'tę' house, the distance covered being thus about three hundred meters. Both teams assemble, one member of each steps forward, both press their hands against their knees, and dash off at the signal cry of the man superintending the match. Until they have reached the goal, this manager continues to utter prolonged cries to urge them on.

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526 In the new village on the Riacho Rapoza, because of the slope of the track, all kaknipúa without exception start from the eastern vų'tę' house.

Relay races proceed around the boulevard, which is nearly one kilometer in length and is traversed four or five times. The teams distribute their members in the appropriate lane along the course. This type of race also starts at the challenged team's vų'tę' house and always proceeds invariably toward the right side. The runner carries a wand (aikrõ're)—usually an arrow—which he passes on to the next member of his team; from the Pųkóbye I obtained a pair of pretty wooden race wands tasseled at the tip. The older girls and the women also practice relay racing, though not nearly so often as the young men. Foremost among the Rąmkõ'kamekra is a girl barely thirteen years old named Kopkré. Once she ran three times round the boulevard without once passing on her wand, yet remaining far ahead of the racers of the opposing team.

Archery.—I have never seen competitive target practice; but there are two other games with bow and arrow, krúatak and watotẽ'k.

The former is rather a boys' game than one for adults. On as level a course as possible the competitors shoot off their arrows so that they glide along the ground. Whoever shoots his arrow farthest wins all the other players' arrows. Little boys indulge in this pastime on any road, youths on the radial path of their vų'tę' house.

In watotẽ'k an obstacle is erected about four meters away from the archer, who shoots his arrow at it with full force, so that it rebounds, rising in a curved trajectory, and lands far away. In this game, too, the player who makes his missile go farthest wins the arrows overtaken. The obstacle is either a bundle of palm leaves or a small mound. In the great ricochet shooting contest of the pepkahą'k (p. 219) a wooden lath was attached on top of the mound by means of two staves piercing it. In 1936 the close of tepyarkwá was followed by a contest of this order, with an obstacle formed of a horizontal cord stretched between two poles. The players ardently and uninterruptedly indulged in the game all morning so that, notwithstanding the cord wrapped around for a wristguard, several of them had blood dripping from the left wrist, as well as from the index and middle fingers, between which the arrow is released.

Sham fights.—A rather dangerous game, which figures in the Kre'pų'mkateye myth of the sun and the moon, was confined to experienced warriors, one of whom would challenge his fellows to shoot at him with sharp arrows. He would win all the arrows that missed him. I saw something of the sort only on two special occasions.

527 [688] In the first case the councilors had decided on awarding a ceremonial lance (pl. 31) to one Nyõhí in recognition of his retaining the memory of many old chants forgotten by the others. The bestowal took the following form: At the time of the morning bath the men of the eastern age-class moiety assembled at the village spring, armed with clubs and three of them with ceremonial lances, krowačwa. At the same time the members of the complementary moiety, to which Nyõhí belonged, met in the plaza, armed with arrows topped with grass balls. When the eastern group appeared and halted at the northern entrance to the village, the westerners began to dance, defiantly brandishing their weapons. Three times the two factions advanced toward each other and retreated. Suddenly from among the eastern group there darted a warrior decorated with black paint—the celebrated racer Čą're, who was carrying a handsomely feathered ceremonial lance. At once the opposing group began to shoot at him, but he ran right into their midst, dexterously eluding their arrows by zigzag leaps so that but a single one so much as lightly grazed him. The easterners now also proceeded toward the plaza, where the two

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527 moieties ranged themselves in two facing lines from north to south. Thus they went singing, first to the west, then to the east, and finally again westward, whereupon they broke up. Cą're handed the lance to Nyõhí, who painted himself red, then sang and danced all morning and part of the afternoon with the lance on all the radial paths from the plaza to the houses and back (cf. the solo dance, p. 139).

527 534 The second occasion was the award of a lance in 1936, at the close of tepyarkwá, to the leader of the Clowns "because he had proved nimble and merry, was a good singer, and did everything as ordered by the elders. The arara tail feathers that decorated this lance—nowadays one of the greatest valuables in this tribe—had a long previous history. At the kętúaye of 1934 they had served to adorn the mankyẽ'tis' occiputs. After the terminal ceremony the councilors had a hąkyará decoration made thereof, an article that goes round the forehead, falling down the back. This they awarded to one Haką', whose rapid intelligence and ability as precentor during the initiation festival had aroused their approbation. (See pl. 28, *a*.) For two years he danced and sang with this decoration, then made a present of it to the Fish Otters at tepyarkwá (p. 229), and they made it into feathers for the nape of the neck. After the close of this festival the councilors had a ceremonial lance decorated with this ornament and for the reason given above bestowed the emblem on Pačét, leader of the Clowns.

Another sham fight took place during preparations for the above-mentioned big ricochet shooting after tepyarkwá. The council had sent the junior of the two eastern age classes to the Serro do Alpercatas in order to fetch a great quantity of the arrow cane that grows there. On their return three days later they camped at some distance from the village, each making half a dozen arrows for himself. The next morning they marched to the village, where the junior western class, armed with throwing sticks, was expecting them in the plaza. The easterners distributed their membership over three radial paths. Suddenly the two parties shouted and rushed toward each other till they were about fifty meters apart. The westerners began hurling their sticks, while their opponents discharged arrows with blunt heads. Nevertheless a westerner was wounded in one foot.

526 *Wrestling.*—Pohl describes a wrestling scene connected with a declaration of war (see below). Kissenberth says the extinct Kénkateye-Canella were passionately devoted to this sport, but Snethlage recognized its subordinate role among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, where he saw only youths engaged in wrestling.[203] I witnessed such contests only on the part of the novices graduating from pepyé, after their seclusion proper was ended, when they were camped in the woods near the village; and here, too, it was a matter of mere play.

526 539 The following tale was heard.

Down by the brook, but in a little frequented spot somewhat above the general water supply, there were seated a dozen young girls and women. By chance one Kenkré, a lad of eighteen or nineteen, happened to walk along and was about to pass by, for it is not advisable to intrude on a bevy of lasses when they want to be by themselves. But they barred his path, saying, "You have the reputation of being a strong lad, Kenkré; well, then wrestle with us." He did so, throwing one after another, but after a dozen of these combats he grew tired and began to lose. However, the girls continued to challenge him till he was utterly exhausted. Then they chased him away.

Girl wrestlers seem to have a noteworthy knack of flattening an opponent's backbone with a jab.

524 *Stilts.*—Contrary to Apinayé usage,[204] only the boys of this tribe walk on stilts

[203] Pohl, Reise, 2:206. Kissenberth, Araguaya-Reise, 41. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 183.
[204] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 117.

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had arrived there, they leapt up, rapidly took up positions in marching order, and entered the village. There the women and girls at once pounced upon them from all sides and robbed them of their remaining yellow cord decoration.

On the boulevard the pepkahą'k divided up by moieties, the eastern members going around to the left, the western members to the right; each one entered his mother's house by the front door and received a bowl of food there. At the southern exit of the north-south street the two companies met and jointly marched to their retreat. One Clown, wearing an old, completely dilapidated Neobrazilian straw hat, limped after them.

In the afternoon all the uninterned villagers assembled in the plaza, where a very youthful apprentice in magic—though under surveillance of his master, chief Hąktokót—subjected them to a preventive treatment against fatigue. Each in turn stepped up and was fanned, both from the front and back, with a sucupira branch. This was to enable him to endure to the very end the terminal pepkahą'k ceremony, which was to begin two days later and to last five days, part of the proceedings being rather strenuous.

On June 11, before sunrise, all the Ducks went bathing and then ran singing along the boulevard to the pepkahą'k retreat, where many women had already assembled, also five members of the Clown society, among them their two girl associates. These latter and one of the male Clowns wore rather crude face masks made of *Lagenaria* gourd cut into roundish shape, with two slits for eyes and a dentate slit for the mouth (pl. 40, *b*). The masks were painted white and red and fastened in front of the face by a cord running around the back of the head. The faces of the maskless men were painted black; one of them was carrying a crooked, gnarled branch for a club. On the northern side of the space in front of the retreat an earth mound had been erected as a buffer; it was roof-shaped, about 30 cm. in height, and 80 cm. long. On the upper edge of its ridge a narrow lath of burity leafstalk was attached longitudinally by two long rods stuck through its ends into the mound.

The pepkahą'k were neither to be seen nor heard, remaining silent behind the closed door of their hut. But when the throng of Ducks came rushing on, Uvę't, the champion marksman of the pepkahą'k, suddenly stepped outdoors, armed with a bow of yellow piquy wood and a bundle of arrows. He threw the arrows down in front of him, except for the one which he fitted to the string. This he shot with full force against the buffer, so that the cane shaft came down flat on the surface of the burity shoot, bounded off obliquely upward, rose high into the air, and only struck the ground far ahead. This form of buffer shooting, vato'tẽ'k, is a national sport of all the steppe Timbira, who practice it from childhood on. The archer whose arrow flies farthest after its impact is regarded as the victor, winning all the arrows behind his own.

Immediately a Duck stepped forth and took aim at the buffer. But at the very moment when he was about to let fly, the masked Clowns, with wild shouts and menacing gestures, swooped down upon him, trying to confuse him so that he would make a poor shot, thus enabling their friends, the pepkahą'k, to win. They kept quiet when the pepkahą'k archer's turn came.

Thus the Ducks and the pepkahą'k continued shooting in competition. A boy gathered up the arrows discharged and took them back to the archers' stance. The Ducks won. Finally the two marksmen ran a race, holding their bows in their hands, and following the pepkahą'k street which led to the water hole, and this time the pepkahą'k won.

Log race.—These competitive games were followed by the preparations for a log

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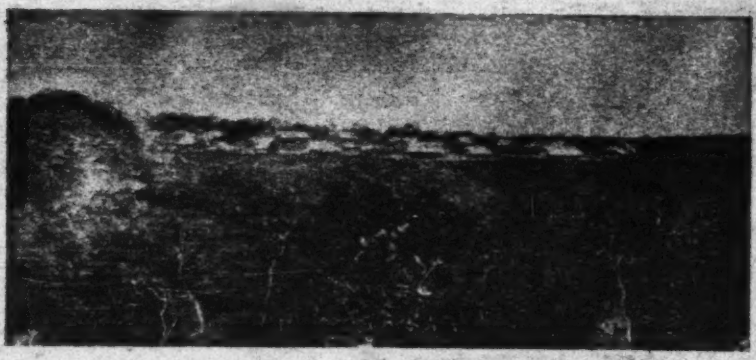

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KRAHO VILLAGE; PONTO DWELLING; RACE TRACK

/48 cont./

352 Along the entire wall opposite the entrance, about ten
513 meters long, stood the girao (3), which was meant for the family

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3. The custom of sleeping on wooden platforms is peculiar to many tribes of the Gẽ group; among others, according to the Mẽkubengokrä, to the Sikrĩ dwelling in the source area of the Rio Branco, an upper right tributary of the Itacayunas, who, incidentally, are said to have given up their nomadic life, live in solidly built huts, and have extensive plantings.

and the nearest relatives of the chief as a place to sleep.

352 /49/ By means of buriti-mat partitions /illustration appears here/ three "separate chambers" had been created on the platform, which, at my entrance, were densely occupied by men and women.

526 The Canella Indians, men as well as women, represent in general
[142] a handsome, well-proportioned type of human being, which is no longer surprising when one knows that they zealously pursue the practice of gymnastic exercises. According to the account of a reliable man from Barra do Corda, they beat out a path up to two kilometers long through the forest for this purpose, make the path completely level, and exercise on the track thus created, principally by running races. The physical exercises are said to last often from morning until evening almost without interruption.

582 Only the young man who has passed certain tests of strength and skill in order to prove that he is in a position to feed and protect his family is able to marry.

291 Only the chief wore clothing which probably, unused for a
[622] long time, had been hidden away very neatly in a calabash or in one of the many small baskets hanging on the walls.

All the other inhabitants and onlookers were unclothed, with the exception of the women and a few men, who concealed their lower bodies with improvised loincloths.

Ta 526 883 Ti [171] Ti 526 Kamairahó's house, they renewed their mutual holds and smiled graciously at each other (1).

1. In a letter of February 20, 1936, Curt Nimuendajú wrote to me about the Timbira, a Gê tribe: "The Timbira also have a paired race across the village plaza (which is 300 meters in diameter). It is usually held following a more important ceremony. It is called ka-kaipúa (ka, 'village plaza,' and kaipúa, 'across')."

Ta 526 Later, some of the men also took part in the test, even the "old hunter" Kantxovanĩ. When darkness fell, they all went home. Only a dozen pairs had run altogether, for they had started out when the sun had already sunk behind the forest.

To 476 [535] [526] [111] On the following afternoon there was another apatxirũ at a different spot. The participants were so few that there was no dancing or racing. Two days later, a bigger apatxirũ was held with all the features, this time to the northwest of the village. Thus, apatxirũ are held on different days and at different places. Not all the men take part. Some work for themselves in their gardens, and others stay home. [Ed., Plates 1-26 are omitted since they concern tribes other than the Tapirapé.]